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ABSTRACT

Factors surrounding needs and obstacles in Swedish adult education are studied. Homogenous and heterogenous groups with varying degrees of interest in participation were chosen for the study. A survey of the literature concerning participation in adult education was made. As part of this study, notice was made of the participation in adult education in the light of aspects of motivation. Three obstacles found to hinder adult education are: (1) those posed by the individual which form a part of the his own attitudes and life situation, (2) those related to that which is offered, and (3) obstacles in the societal environment. Other data mentioned in this study concern: (1) study obstacles in adult education, (2) specifying the problems, (3) collection of information and methodology for collection, (4) construction of instruments, and (5) plan for the preliminary investigation. (CK)

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THE SOS-VUX PROJECT
STUDY NEEDS AND STUDY OBSTACLES IN ADULT EDUCATION

BACKGROUND AND DESIGN

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THE SOS-VUX PROJECT

Study Needs and Study Obstacles in Adult Education

REPORT NO. I

Background and Design

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PREFACE

The SOS-VUX project, Study Needs and Study Obstacles in Adult Education, is financed by the Swedish National Board of Education, Bureau L 3.

This report has been translated by our colleague, research assistent John Clewett.

Translator's Notes

Within this report considerable reference is made to various Swedish organisations or governmental commissions. The length of the names of these organisations or commissions has induced the Swedes to take hearty advantage of abbreviations, and it is felt that the English-speaking reader may also find full translations a bit annoying. For this reason all Swedish abbreviations of organisations or commissions are translated only once (for the first time) in the text, followed by the Swedish abbreviation in parenthesis. Thereafter only the Swedish abbreviation will be used. For the convenience of the reader an alphabetical presentation of all Swedish abbreviations used in this report is submitted.

Translation of Swedish Abbreviations Used in This Report

ABF - The Workers' Educational Association
FÖVUX - The Committee on Methods Testing in Adult Education
LO - Swedish Trade Union Confederation
LOVUX - The Workers' Committee on Adult Education
SCB - The Swedish Bureau of Census
SOU - State Official Reports
SVUX - The Commission for Economic Study Assistance to Adults
SÖ - Swedish National Board of Education
TBV - The Salaried Employees'Educational Association
UKÄ - Office of the Chancellor of the Universities

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Chapter 1

Background

The 1960's could easily be labelled the decade of many school reforms for the Swedish school system. This period saw the introduction of the comprehensive school and a re-organized secondary school, while new courses, admittance requirements and degrees changed, at least in part, the face of higher education. These changes were not, however, confined to schools dealing with the young, but affected even the areas of continued education. A parlimentary decision, passed in 1967, brought about an intensification and expansion of activities within the field of adult education.[1]

The reasons behind the increased interest and action of the Swedish government within adult education are many. In a State Official Report of the labour market in 1960 (SOU 1965:9) it was expressed that adult education would have increasing importance through the rapid structural and technical changes occurring in working-conditions. Even educational reports mention the rapid changes within society and the consequences these changes can have for the individual citizen:

> "Society's continued development and change also make demands upon the individual, which in turn increases his need for education for different functions within society, in the home, during leisure time, and in different social circumstances."
> (SOU 1971:24, p. 11)

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1) 'Adult education' as it is used here and on following occasions within this report is defined as:

> "Education taken up by the individual after completion or non-completion of the basic education requirements, and usually after a certain amount of work experience."
> (SOU 1971:24, p. 10)

Adult education can also be motivated from the so-called demand for equal rights to educational opportunities, as expressed in the SOU on Secondary Education:

> "Weighty arguments for equality also indicate that they, who for different reasons did not receive an education when they were younger, be given the opportunity to one as adults."
> (SOU 1965:60, p. 18)

The substantial expansion of youth education carries with it the risk that the so-called educational gap between the generations will be widened. The Commission on Education has also dealt with this question and the role of adult education in reducing inequalities between generations:

> "One of the roles of adult education is therefore to reduce the educational gap between the young and the old. One of the primary goals of educational policies is to create increased equality within society. This does not refer only to differences between generations. Adult education also has an important role to fulfill in reducing differences which have arisen within a generation, between the well and poorly educated."
> (SOU 1971:24, p. 10)

One other aspect of education is its possibilities to influence the development of society in general. While presenting a Bill to the Swedish Parliment related to increased grants for adult education, (1970:35) a Cabinet Minister touched upon this aspect, and said, among other things:

> "Education is an important means for changing existing society. It is important for the economic and social

> status of the individual, for his job satisfaction and his potentials for exerting an influence on his working environment. Education also affects people's mutual relations and contributes to a feeling of solidarity, which is a prerequisite for realizing social equality. Education is vital for improving democracy in depth. It can enhance the individual's interest in social issues and his opportunities for partaking in the cultural life of the nation."

It seems to be the general consensus in Sweden that our rapidly changing society, with its so-called knowledge-explosion places increased educational demands upon the individual. For this reason, a continued expansion of different areas within adult education must be reckoned with, and attention must be paid to the need of continued education for large groups in society. This is accentuated by the SOU on Vocational Education, where the following is expressed:

> "Given the stiff demands and continuing technical and structural changes that form a part of the current economic situation, it is not sufficient that practitioners of vocations have obtained only a basic and vocational education. In general, a series of different kinds of continued education is needed during the entire productive period of the employee. Such education is necessary to maintain specific vocational skills, and to assimilate new experiences and methods as well as to create opportunities for advancement within the field. Continued vocational education is also needed for those who for one reason or another wish to or must change occupation, as well as maintaining the level of the individual's general education and awareness of society. In the future it should be considered normal that basic and vocational education be followed by repeated continued education."
> (SOU 1966:3, p. 275)

When reforms are carried through with the help of meaningful resources, it is obviously of great importance to evaluate the results. It seems that all too often this aspect of reform is overlooked. Reforms are decided upon and the work is begun, but the activities do not become the object of a careful and systematic follow-up. This situation has been pointed out by The Swedish Council for Social Science Research, which in its budget petition for 1973-74 has therefore suggested that important decisions on reform be accompanied by research efforts, making it possible to analyze the results. In the area of organized schools, such efforts are already under way. The Swedish National Board of Education (SÖ) finances a number of projects which shed light on the activities of the schools, and The Office of the Chancellor of the Universities (UKÄ) in a current project is seeking, among other things, to produce models for long term evaluation and quality control of academic studies.

With regard to evaluation of current efforts in adult education, there are many problem areas which remain to be explored such as, curriculum, teaching materials, dropouts, etc. One evaluation which clearly must be included is the one involving the enrollment of students. It should be determined if current courses in adult education have attracted the participants calculated to be reached by the Parlimentary decision of 1967 concerning adult education under national or local control. As mentioned earlier, the targets of this decision were the so-called less well educated, i.e. persons with six, seven or eight years of school as the major part of their educational background. Are these individuals to be found amoung the participants to the extent which was hoped? From material currently available the answer to the above question must be a decided "no". (See The Workers' Committee on Adult Education (LOVUX), Report II, 1971, p. 97 or Eliasson and Höglund 1971, 10:15). It is actually the youths and individuals with relatively good basic education who to the largest extent participate in competence-oriented adult education.

Government authorities have observed this somewhat skewed enrollment, as is illustrated by the following extract from a Parlimentary Bill:

> "Formally, local adult education stands open for all. However, experience has shown that study obstacles are considerable for large groups of individuals. Adult education is still not reaching those who have the largest need for such education." (Bill 1971:37, p. 1. f.)

Initiatives have therefore been taken in order to, if possible, bring about a new state of affairs. Two examples of these initiatives can be seen in The Committee on Methods Testing in Adult Education (FÖVUX) the aims of which are to carry out trial programs in adult education for individuals who had a short or insufficient education and using an active, selective recruitment policy to enroll students, (see SOU 1972:19), and the Commission for Economic Study Assistance to Adults (SVUX), which is investigating the future forms of finance for adult studies (see SOU 1971:80). One goal is "to afterwards right the injustices within educational society ..." (SOU 1971:80, p. 7). Questions which in this context make themselves felt are those which touch upon the entire life-situation of those who received short educations. How do these individuals experience their different roles, work roles, leisure-time roles, etc.? What are their attitudes toward education in light of their school background, occupation, age, lesure-time opportunities, leisure-time interests, etc.?

If, as is supposed, this group experiences a strong need for education, what is it that hinders them from satisfying this need? The list of possible answers can be made very long indeed. In the meantime, however, one cannot be satisfied with hypothetical answers, and must at a very basic level investigate the causal relations. Results gained in this way ought to then form the basis of decisions concerning suitable measures to better the current situation.

Investigations attempting to probe the aforementioned problems in depth have not, as yet, been attempted in Sweden. It is against this background that our investigation on study-needs and study-obstacles among less well educated adults should be seen.

Chapter 2

Investigation strategy

Research concerning participants in adult education can generally be divided into two categories:

1) investigations whose aims are to describe those participating in a certain type of adult education, and

2) investigations whose aims are to compare participants with non-participants with regard to certain characteristics (Brunner 1959).

Swedish investigations up to the present have been almost without exception of the type found in category 1, and usually are concerned with participants in local[1] adult education programs. One of the aims of investigations included in category 1 have been, as Verner and Newberry (1958) expressed it:

> "Through the identification of the characteristics of those who participate, find significant clues to the kind of people not now involved who might become active if conditions were such as to encourage their participation." (p. 212)

The type of investigation the authors refer to fills a large role in pointing out groups which need to be more closely studied. However, it seems rather doubtful that research of this nature can form the basis for direct measures aimed at reaching those who do not participate. Investigations of the type found in category 2 have led to at least a partial understanding of what it is that hinders certain individuals from participating. However, like Douglah and Moss (1968) and Kuhlen (1970), we are

---

1) Local education .....

The local schemes provide for adult education using the same curriculum as the high level of the comprehensive school, continuation school and gymnasium (elective subjects) and vocational school (vocational courses).

critical towards the major part of investigations of this nature. Concerning these investigations, Douglah and Moss make the following comment:

> "One outcome of these 'clientele analyses' has been generalizations concerning the participation patterns of various sub-groups within the population, and an accompanying tendency to expect all members of a particular sub-group to exhibit similar patterns of behavior" (p. 248).

Our criticism is primarily directed towards the choice of investigation groups. With few exceptions these have been very heterogeneous, which has led to concentration upon differences between different sub-groups, for example, well and less well-educated, and devoted little interest to differences within the groups. The fact that there actually exist less well-educated who participate in adult education and well-educated who do not has received surprisingly little attention.

> "Therefore, in further studying participation, it would appear to be useful to investigate the differential participation patterns exhibited within what are generally assumed to be relatively homogenous groups" (Douglah and Moss, 1968, p. 248).

By choosing a homogeneous group with respect to previous formal education it is possible, with consideration for budget and investigation-group size, to obtain results which give a detailed picture of the attitudes of those with short educations towards adult education, and the study obstacles they experience. However, by choosing a heterogeneous group, within the same budget considerations, it is difficult to obtain other than very general results of the type: well-educated participate more often than those with shorter educations, younger more often than older, etc. Results of this type can hardly form the basis for corrective measures.

Up to this point we have been concerned with two different types of participant-studies. Because of the previously stated objections, we feel that neither of these types are to be recommended if it is the aim to try to develop methods and plans to increase participation in certain courses, and point out which changes must be made in the current situation to retain this increase. In order to come a little way towards the goals which have been presented, we feel that a dichotomization of the investigation group into participants and non-participants is to be avoided, and instead attention should be paid to the degree of interest for participation. Comparisons could then be made between those with short educations who participate - are interested but do not participate - don't participate and aren't interested in participating. The use of such a method should give good possibilities to study factors which hinder an individual from participating. In addition, it is important that attention is paid not only to interest in the currently existing forms of adult education, but that an unbiased survey be made.

Besides the choice of investigation groups, it is also possible to be critical about the choice of investigation variables. The latter have often been limited to previous education, social and regional factors, age and sex. We are rather doubtful that study of static categories of the types mentioned above can reach the aims we stated previously. As Miller (1967) mentions, it is important that researchers pinpoint what it is they are looking for in advance - using theories within the behaviorial sciences. Besides the earlier named background factors, interest and obstacles should be seen against the needs the individual experiences as well as the current general situation, i.e., job possibilities and labor market trends. With respect to individual needs, those which can be thought to be of importance are those needs connected with the occupational, leisure-time, family and societal role..

The points of view expressed here concerning research strategy form the basis of our choice of population as well as investigation variables. In the following three chapters we will deal in more detail with previous research within the field. Chapter 3 deals with participant investigations, and in chapter 4 we discuss in more detail factors such as motive and need and their relation to participation to adult education. Finally, obstacles to participation are taken up in chapter 5.

Chapter 3

Previous research concerning participation in adult education

As we made clear in chapter 1, we plan to view the individual's interest to participate in adult education against his total life situation. In order to do this as adequately as possible, and in order to be able to use the experience of others in the field, we nave surveyed the literature concerning participation in adult education.

The presentation of previous research is made with respect to various factors, and not with respect to individual investigations. Of necessity, this leads to a certain amount of repetition. Another circumstance to be observed is that some of those factors presented are dependent upon one another, for example previous education, occupation and income.

Comparisons between the different investigations is made difficult because:

1) in certain investigations an attempt has been made to hold "surplus" or extranecus variables under control while this is not at all the case for other investigations, and

2) of large differences between investigation groups.

We have chosen to divide the factors into social and psychological background factors. The first category includes home background, previous education, occupation and income, civil status and number of children, age, sex and regional circumstances. Under the category of psychological background factors we take up intelligence, personality factors and work satisfaction.

3.1 Social background factors

3.1.1 Home background

Husén (1969) found that approximately half of those individuals whose parents belonged to the higher social groups had taken part

in adult education during the 5 years previous to the study, while for the lower social groups the corresponding proportion was 30 %. This difference was not, however, larger than that between the sexes. With respect to interest for completion of upper secondary school, no large differences were observed between the social groups. An explanation for this can be that a considerably larger proportion of the higher social groups had already completed such an education.

Johansson & Molander (1969) found that students in all the school forms investigated (night high-schools, the Swedish National School for Adults, folk high-schools and correspondence schools) to a large extent came from homes where the fathers had completed only grammar school. The folk high school group, despite the fact that they constituted the youngest members, had the largest percentage of fathers who had completed only grammar school.

Rubenson (1972) posed adjustment in the home and parental attitudes to higher education (as reported by the children at the age of 13) against the interest to participate in adult education at the age of 24. When previous educational level was held under control, no relation was observed between home atmosphere and interest for adult education. However those who came from homes where the parents were positive to higher studies were somewhat more interested in taking part in adult education than those who came from homes where the parents had a negative attitude toward education. The investigation group in Rubenson's study consisted of young men with short basic educations. In this respect it should be pointed out that Johnstone & Rivera (1965) found that parental interest for their children's school results was related to the children's later interest in adult education among those with less education, while for the well-educated no such relation was observed. In addition, the authors found that the children's own education had the largest effect upon interest in continued education, but that parental educational levels were of importance, in most cases having at least as much effect as the children's own educational levels. There was, however, an interesting exeption in the cases where the

father the mother had more education than the children. In these cases the children were somewhat more highly influenced by the mother. The effect was especially marked in those cases where the mother had reached a higher educational level than the son.

3.1.2 Previous education

Educational level is the individual factor which in most investigations has been shown to have the strongest relation to participation in adult education.

Johansson & Molander (1969) found that 70% of those who took part in skill-learning adult education had already received educations beyond the grammer school level. According to figures obtained by Bromsjö (1970) and mentioned in Bill 1971:37, a small tendency can be observed towards increased participation of those with short educations. At the present time, however, only a small proportion of the participants (approx. 25%) come from the large group of adults with only a grammar school education. With respect to participants in Stockholm's local adult education programs, the proportion of participants with only 6 to 8 years of grammar school has been unchanged during the period 1967 to 1970, according to information available in the LOVUX II Report (1971).

Study circles are more successful than local adult education programs in attracting individuals with short educations. According to the Swedish Bureau of Census (SCB), about 60% of those who took part during the fall, 1970 term, in study circles arranged by The Workers' Educational Association (ABF) had only grammar school educations (see Bill 1971:37). The corresponding figures for The Salaried Employees' Educational Association (TBV) was 40%. The large proportion of individuals with shorter educations in study circles can be explained by the relatively high age of the participants.

Knox (1965) observed, after a review of the larger American investigations, that basic education was the factor shown to have the largest direct relation to participation. Similar results were noted by Booth (1961), Dobbs (1966), Knox (1970) and Robinson (1970).

In the investigations mentioned up to this point calculations of the relation between educational level and participation have been made without holding other important variables constant. This has been done, however, by Rees & Paisley (1968), using a linear multiple regression through which the direct relation of each individual predictor with the criteria can be calculated - in this case, participation in adult education (for a description of this method see Draper and Smith, 1957). The size of the relation is expressed through a Beta-weight. The following social predictors were used: age, sex, education, income, occupation, marital status and activities in organizational memberships. Certain psychological predictors were also included: achievement motivation, attitude toward new media/technology and perception of practical education in media.

The following relations were observed:

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AND BETA WEIGHTS FOR PREDICTORS OF TOTAL ADULT EDUCATION PARTICIPATION

Variable	r	Beta
Age	-.32	-.25
Attitude toward New Media/Technology	.37	.14
Perception of Practical Education in Media	.21	.13
Number of Organizational Memberships	.20	.11
Sex	-.14	-.10
Education	.36	.08
Achievement Motivation	.19	.07
Occupation	.26	.07
Income	.28	.05
Marital Status	.12	-.05

(Rees and Paisley 1968 p. 15)

As can be seen from the table above education received a low Beta-weight despite a relatively high correlation with the criterium. This is a result of a strong relation between education and certain other predictors, and when these have been removed the direct relation between education and participation in adult education is quite small.

The results ought to be viewed against the background of the method of analysis and the broad definition used for participation. It was also observed that education was more important to participation in lectures and evening classes than in vocational education or hobby activities.

Individuals who have at one time or another taken part in adult education are often positive towards participation in other courses (Johnstone & Rivera 1965, LO-medlemmen och utbildningsfrågorna 1968, SOU 1972:19, Rubenson 1972).

From what has been presented above it seems clear that the well-educated take part in adult education to a larger degree than those with only basic educations. However, it is worth noting that there are some within this last group who participate. It might be asked whether these two groups are attracted to the same kind of courses. Johansson & Molander (1969) found differences in educational background among students in the different forms of schooling studied. The largest relative proportion with only a grammer school education were found in the group attending the folk high schools, while such an educational background was least represented among those attending upper-secondary schools. This difference can be explained to a large degree by the entrance requirements of the night upper-secondary schools.

Johnstone & Rivera (1965) stated that participation in all the courses under study was higher for the well-educated than those with only basic educations. It is also worth noting from this investigation that different institutions which arranged courses at the same level, and with the same content, attracted different groups. The universities attracted primarily students with higher educations while secondary schools attracted the remaining students. The differences between the well- and less-well educated

which have been discussed so far imply that these groups have different purposes for their studies.

In some Swedish investigations involving motives for participation in local or community adult education it was found that possibilities for advancement was of great importance. The preparation for academic studies and the satisfaction of an interest to study were also important reasons given for participation (Enander 1967, Johansson & Molander 1967, Lekberg & Lekberg 1971). Less well educated young men responded, however, that the primary motive for participation in adult education was the possibility for higher pay (Rubenson, 1972). Similar results have been reported by Douglah & Moss (1968) and Knox (1969).

From the results of some investigations it seems that the well-educated not only have more use for an education for their professional or occupational careers than the less-well educated, but hold a more positive attitude towards the importance of obtaining meaningful leisure-time through participation in adult education (Törnqvist 1954, Johnstone & Rivera, 1965). The latter asked interviewees how long an education they would prefer if allowed to re-live their life. Results showed that those with longer educations also wished long educations in their hypothetical lives, longer than wished by those who had received less education. Those with short educations and high incomes were especially negative to education. Those from the lower social groups thought, more often than those from the higher social groups, that it was a waste of time to get a college degree if one didn't use it. It was observed that more with higher socio-economic status than lower thought courses should be attended if it could lead to advancement at work. That it should be interpreted that the lower classes do not consider education to be important is contradicted by other findings from the same investigation, where it was observed that as many from the higher social classes as from the lower thought that a good education was the most important factor for upward mobility. The authors gave the following explanation to the large differences between the socioeconomic groups:

> "In other words, lower-class resistance to adult education experiences does not appear to stem from feelings that education cannot do anything for a person, nor from a belief that one does not need education to get ahead in the world. The feelings rather, seem to be of a more diffuse nature and are undoubtedly a carry-over from feelings of alienation from school and education which develop during one's earliest contacts with formal educational system .....
>
> The average lower-class person does not perceive education in terms of personal growth or self-realization, and this may explain why the lower classes are much less ready to turn to adult education for recreational purposes than they are for purposes of vocational advancement" (p. 214).

The authors' point of view is supported by Rubenson (1972).

3.1.3 Occupation and income

Occupation and income will be dealt with simultaneously since income is to a large extent dependent upon occupation, and since it has been shown in many investigations that the effect of income disappears when occupation is controlled. What can be of interest to observe is that individuals with "white collar" occupations - even when consideration is given to educational level - are more interested in participating in adult education than those with "blue collar" occupations. (Johnstone & Rivera 1965, LO-medlemmen och utbildningsfrågorna 1968, Rubenson 1972).

3.1.4 Marital status and number of children

Most participants in local adult education programs in Sweden are unmarried (Johansson & Molander 1969, LOVUX II 1971). This can be explained to a certain extent by the relatively low age of the participants.

Less-well educated men with children tend to participate somewhat

more often than their counterparts without children, while the opposite is observed for women (London 1963, Johnstone & Rivera 1965, Douglah & Moss 1968, and Rees & Paisley 1968). It has also been shown in the above-named investigations that for men the differences were found in the subjects strongly oriented towards a profession or occupation. These differences in participation rate between men with and without children can probably be explained by economic factors, the former group participating in order to increase future income.

3.1.5 Age

There is a strong relation between age and participation in adult education in Sweden. Johansson & Molander (1969) estimated the median age for men and women studying upper-secondary school courses to 23.8 and 26.7 years respectively.

During the past years a somewhat increased participation of individuals over the age of 30 in local adult education programs has been noticed in Sweden (Eliasson & Höglund 1971). In Stockholm, however, the tendency has been the opposite (LOVUX II 1971).

In "LO-medlemmen och utbildningsfrågorna" (1968) it is noted that the largest participation among members of The Confederation of Swedish Labor Unions (LO) is found in the age group 21-25 years. There was a marked decrease in participation among those 45 years or older, and in the age group 61-67 years only 3% had taken part in a course or educational program. Similar patterns have been revealed in the USA (Brunner 1959, Booth 1961, London 1963, Johnstone & Rivera 1965, Rees & Paisley 1968). In two investigations, Knox & Videbeck (1963) and Douglah & Moss (1968) somewhat different results were observed. The former found that age and participation were only significantly related for the less-well educated, and the latter found that the relation between age and participation disappeared when variables such as educational level and general life situation were held under control.

Interest to participate does not decrease with age to the same extent as actual participation (Johnstone & Rivera 1965).

The choice of courses varies among participants in adult education with respect to age. The general tendency is that participation in vocational subjects decreases after age 45 and that the proportion taking part in order to enrich their leisure-time increases. (Johnstone & Rivera 1965, LO-medlemmen och utbildningsfrågorna 1968).

With respect to the interest shown by pensioners for adult education, Hiemstra (1972) found that this group experiences a need for courses through which they can obtain knowledge which makes adjustment to their new role in society easier for them.

3.1.6 Sex

When studying differences between the sexes in adult education it is important to hold the type of education under control. The fact that many different investigations have reported results which are not entirely in agreement with respect to differences between the sexes is undoubtedly a result of studying different forms of adult education.

Knox (1965) concluded, after his review of American investigations, that there were no important differences between the sexes if consideration was taken for the totality of participants. However, large differences were observed with respect to participation in different subjects and forms of study.

Women generally participate to a less degree, and are less interested in vocational courses and courses of sociological orientation, while the opposite is true for courses in languages (Johnstone & Rivera 1965, Rees & Paisley 1968, Lo-medlemmen och utbildningsfrågor 1968, and Bill 1971:37).

A marked increase in the proportion of women attending courses in local adult education programs in Sweden has been observed in the last few years. At present (Fall, 1972) SCB (SM/U 1972:27) reports that a little more than 60% of the students in this type of educational program are women, while in 1968 there were approximately as many men as women. The dominance of women increases with increased age. Among participants 20 years old or younger

53% are women, while the group 56 years old or older is made up of 73% women.

3.1.7 Regional factors

Eliasson & Höglund (1971) have shown that participation in adult education varies for different regions of Sweden.

Differences in education's regional distribution (in percent), according to Eliasson & Höglund (1971, p. 14:4).

Region (groups of counties)	Participants in gov't sponsored vocational re-training programs	Participants in study circles (1967/1968)	Participants in local ed. programs	% of population
I	18	17	31	19
II	14	18	12	17
III	8	14	12	14
IV	19	19	15	23
V	19	19	22	16
VI	23	13	9	11
Total	100	100	100	100

As can be seen from the table, participants in government sponsored vocational re-training programs are over-represented with respect to proportion of the population in regions V and VI. Participation in study circles is rather evenly spread in the different regions, while large differences are apparent for participation in local educational programs.

It is difficult to estimate the effect regional variations in opportunities for education may have had upon Eliasson & Höglund's results since the regions are quite heterogeneous. Brunner (1959) notes that interest for education is to some degree associated with access to educational opportunities. He refers to a number of investigations, among them Houle, who in 1947 stated that the number of participants increases with increased knowledge about

the programs.

Participation in the USA is somewhat greater in metropolitan areas than in either smaller cities or rural districts (Booth 1961, Sheffield 1962, Knox 1965, Johnstone & Rivera 1965). Similar results were noted in Sweden by Rubenson (1972).

3.2 Psychological background factors

3.2.1 Intelligence

There are but a few investigations which include the possibility to relate intelligence to participation in adult education.

Johansson & Molander (1968) compared a norm-group composed of 20 year-old men and men under 21 years of age participating in adult education. The results of the participants were higher, or at the same level as those of the norm-group. The largest differences were observed in verbal ability. Rubenson (1972) found no large differences in intelligence between those interested or not in participating in adult education, when previous education was held under control.

It should be pointed out that an individual's intelligence, as measured by available intelligence tests, is not fixed for all time but to a certain extent can increase or decrease depending upon whether the individual continues his education. For a more complete description of this phenomenon see Husén (1950) and Härnqvist (1968).

3.2.2 Personality factors

Only a few investigations have been made within this field.

Johansson & Molander (1969) found that the participants and the norm-group in question were very near each other with respect to mean scores and standard deviations on those personality tests which were used (the EPI and SPA scales).

Douglah & Moss (1968) were not able to establish any differences between those who did or did not participate in adult education on a test designed to measure self-confidence. There were, however, differences between the less-well educated with respect to "with-drawing tendencies", a measure of introverted behavior, although no differences were observed in the well-educated group. The opposite was observed for "social skills".

Rees & Paisley (1968) found, as is shown in the table on page 14, that some psychological factors were of more importance to participation than previous education. In particular, attitudes toward new media were highly related both to total participation and to participation in different forms of adult education.

3.2.3 Job satisfaction

For most people, work and related factors ought to be of great importance to their general welfare. The person who, for one reason or another, is unsatisfied with the conditions under which he works generally tries to change jobs. It becomes of interest then to ask if this leads to a greater interest for education.

In a large number of investigations it has been observed that the motive for participating in adult education is to a high degree related to occupation. Among members of LO participating in adult education 52% responded "change to a better job" as the reason for their studies. Accordning to Johansson & Molander (1970) the corresponding responses in their investigation reached 61%. Similar results were obtained by Enander (1967). In the above named investigations participation and interest for education have not been related to job-satisfaction.

Job satisfaction is a complex concept consisting of a number of factors. We do not intend to illustrate here how these factors influence general satisfaction, and instead refer the reader to literature within the field of industrial psychology, for example Herzberg (1959) and Kornhauser (1965). In this respect we can briefly state that Rubenson (1972) found a relation between interest to take part in adult education and the factors: wage,

working hours and possibilities of influence at the place of work. No relation was noted between attitude towards working companions, working premises, protective devices, or the job in itself and interest to participate in adult education.

Johnstone & Rivera (1965) found that for the age-group 17-24 years, more of those with low job satisfaction than high had taken part in some type of course. This trend was especially marked among youngsters with low-status occupations. The interest to participate in education ought to be related to a belief that education results in certain positive consequences in the future.

It was also shown that those practical advantages which have been attributed to education played a large role in establishing an interest for education. The authors end their discussion with:

> "Generally, it would seem that many young persons from relatively disadvantaged backgrounds revise their judgements concerning the adequacy of their educations only after direct (and seemingly disappointing) contacts with the world around them. These are the persons who are most apt to be recruited from the more 'unlikely' candidates" (p. 480).

Johnstone & Riveras supposition is strengthened by the results of other investigations (Knox 1970, LeClair 1970, Bradley 1972, and Rubenson 1972).

Chapter 4

Participation in adult education in the light of aspects of motivation

One of the concepts which has been the subject of a good number of interpretations and theory formulations is the concept of motivation. Madsen (1968), in his rewiew of research within the area of motivation takes up around 25 theories. It is not our intention to illustrate and go through each of these theories, but simply to point out a way through which a better understanding of why people participate in adult education can be reached. In order to avoid misunderstandings certain concepts will first be defined.

The point of departure for our reasoning is that needs, motives, wants, "drives", etc. are all expressions for impulses which steer behavior. To distinguish between these concepts would be of little benefit for our purposes and we shall, as Berelson & Steiner (1964), consider these inner forces as a unified concept.

We find it natural to deal with the aspect of motivation as seen from the individual's life cycle. This means that a person's needs must be seen against where in the life cycle he finds himself. For this reason we are going to present a few different points of view which attempt to explain an individual's behavior in relation to the different adult roles which he can expect to play at different age-levels. In addition we shall present a few need-theories which can form the basis for analyses of motives for participation in adult education. We shall finally present some results available from various studies, the aims of which have been to survey motives for participation in adult education.

4.1 Models in connection with the life cycle

Many of those studies which have attempted to analyze the life cycle have been based upon Charlotte Bühler's 10 stages which the individual passes through. Each stage is characterized by special demands for performance. Bühler does not touch upon the relation between the stages in the life cycle and participation

in adult education. This, however, is done by both Havighurst (1970) and Friedmann(1970). Havighurst uses the concept "developmental tasks" to explain the behavior of the individual. He explains that it is necessary to understand where in the life cycle the individual finds himself. By trying to identify the different roles which the individual can be expected to play, and the demands these roles make upon the individual, a better understanding of which needs are experienced as dominating is obtained. When the individual passes through the life cycle, where his needs and social roles continually change, he is confronted with different "developmental tasks". These are dependent upon three factors:

a) the biological development of the individual,

b) the social demands and expectations placed upon the individual, and

c) the individual's level of aspiration and ambition.

Havighurst maintains that an individual's development requires that each developmental task for each stage be completed before passing to a new stage. It is interesting to note in this respect that education - one among several means - can be useful to the completion of these tasks. The developmental tasks are in this way the source of motivation. When Havighurst describes the different stages of adult life and their dominent developmental tasks, he differentiates between "instrumental" and "expressive" education. By the former Havighurst means that the goal lies outside the actual learning process, for example studies for a profession. For expressive education the goal is incorporated in the learning process, for example the enjoyment of learning or to meet people. This classification is not, however, simply a case of a form of education being one or the other but recognizing in combinations of the two which category outweighs the other. Havighurst outlines the sequence and content of the developmental tasks in the following way:

Age 20-30

The seeking of a social identity and the period of maximum concern with oneself and one's immediate, personal life. Education during this period is used primarily for occupational preparation or advancement.

Age 30-40

This period is characterized by less introspection or self-awareness, relatively high stability, and a general psychological well-being. Instrumental education continues to dominate, but expressive forms become more apparent.

Age 40-50

This period is characterized by participation in the activities of citizenship. The effects of physical changes begin to become more apparent. Educational interests are dominated by social and cultural questions.

Age 50-60

Between the ages of 50 and 60 the strongest motives for vocational preparation have ceased to have importance. Expressive education becomes more dominant. Leisure time increases but is frequently poorly used. Both physical and social activities become less frequent. Self-confidence is not quite as strong as before, and the individual becomes more introverted. Activities previously postponed are now given priority.

Age 60-70

Interaction between the individual and society decreases. People experience less need for appreciation and avoid intensive emotional attachments to people and objects.

Erikson has stressed the importance of psychological "developmental tasks" and takes up the following, which dominate different parts of the life cycle:

the achievement of identity - personal and occupational identities,
the achievement of intimacy - learning to share life intimately with a partner of the opposite sex,
the achievement of generativity - giving the best of oneself to continue and improve human life and human society,
the achievement of integrity - accepting one's life as worthwhile and as something one can take pride in."
(Havighurst 1970 p. 24)

Generalizations such as these are often beset with difficulties since they do not sufficiently take into account individual differences. In addition, we feel that enviromental influences are not sufficiently stressed.

The roles an adult enacts change not only with age but also with the social surroundings. This, in connection with adult education, has been given attention by Friedmann(1970). His theoretical point of departure rests on the concept "value orientations". When an individual's role changes his values and goals also change. The individual looks for new goals and new "careers". Every person makes a "career" in one area. Since participation in adult education is volontary it is interesting to notice how participation varies according to the agreement between the "value orientations" of the individual and available programs.

Since an individual's life is to a high degree influenced by his occupational role, we shall here refer to Friedmann's analysis of occupational roles from the point of view of the individual's "value orientations".

Friedmann divides the occupational role into four different parts as follows:

Stage	Approximate Age Range	Work Value Orientation		
		Time	Relational	Activity
1. Entry into career	20-28	Future-Present	Individual-Collateral	Instrumental
2. Career development	25-50	Future	Collateral-Lineal	Instrumental
3. Plateau	35-60	Present	Collateral-Individual	Expressive-Instrumental
4. Pre-retirement	55-68	Present	Individual-Collateral	Expressive-Instrumental

(Friedmann 1970, p. 48)

It is worth noting that the different age categories merge, and in this way individual differences are accounted for. The three "value orientations" can be characterized in the following ways:

Time can be: past
present
future

Relations (to goals) can be of 3 types:
collateral
individual
lineal

Activity can be:
instrumental
expressive

In the first stages of the occupational career the individual expects the future to contain improvements. Changes in attitude and ability are seen as possibilities to a better life in the future.

With respect to goal-relations the individual is, both at the

beginning and the end of his occupational life, more self-centered and less involved in social relations. During stages 2 and 3 the opposite is true. A possible consequence of this is that participation in adult education may to a high degree be influenced by the attitudes of working companions during stages 2 and 3 (see SOU 1972:19). Activities have a more instrumental character during the 2 first stages of the occupational career, while expressive activities become more important during stages 3 and 4.

Friedmann proposes that participation in adult education varies inversely with the time the individual has been in a certain "career". Participation is highest among those ready to begin in a new "career", or among those who have ended an earlier "career" and are trying to begin a new one. We have found support for Friedmann's supposition in Johnstone & Rivera (1955), Rubenson (1972) and investigations concerning motives for participating in local adult education, Johansson & Molander (1969), and Lekberg & Lekberg (1971).

Stage 3, the plateau, is of particular interest since many changes take place during this period. Individuals involved in expressive activities and collateral relations can be expected to turn to that type of adult education Havighurst calls expressive. We believe that the phenomenon of older, less well-educated not turning to adult education which aims at providing competence should be seen against this background. What is being offered is quite probably not in agreement with the "value orientations" of the individuals. Other changes which can often influence participation in adult education are, according to Kuhlen (1970), marriage, parenthood, loss of a loved one, employment and retirement.

4.2 Need theories

Participation in adult education has also been explained by assuming that people have basic needs which must be satisfied. People are therefore attracted to and become more engaged in activities which can be expected to provide the greatest possibilities of satisfying their needs. A common practice is to use Maslow's need-hierarchy (1954). Maslow describes man's needs

as being organized in levels, the physiological needs being at the bottom and needs coupled to self-actualization being at the top.

Maslow names the following need-levels:

1. physiological needs
2. needs of security
3. social needs
4. needs of esteem
5. needs of self-actualization

According to this theory all underlying needs must already be satisfied in order for the next one to become important for the individual. From this point of view, adult education ought to be of such a character as to make possible the satisfaction of the dominating needs of those it is designed to attract. A persons's decision to participate or not in a certain type of adult education thus depends on whether the arranger can offer activities that the prospective participant experiences as need-satisfying.

We experience, however, a certain degree of difficulty in concretely applying Maslow's theory owing to a certain amount of unclarity with respect to the higher needs. It is also not entirely clear when and to which degree each need can be considered satisfied. For this reason it seems necessary to use Maslow's theory only as a wide frame of reference in order to understand participation in adult education.

An attempt to illuminate the aspect of need in occupational roles has been put forth by LeClair (1969), using Maslow as a point of departure. LeClair placed participation in adult education in relation to the experience of an unsatisfied need at work, a "need deficiency". In order to measure "need deficiency", an instrument constructed by Porter (1962) was used, consisting of a number of questions designed to measure the following needs:

a) need for security
b) need for social contacts
c) need for appreciation
d) need for self-actualization

The respondents were asked:

a) to which degree a certain characteristic, for example, security, was part of their current job.
b) to which degree they felt the characteristic ought to be found,
c) and what importance the individual attached to this characteristic.

The difference between values obtained in b) and a) was assumed to measure degree of need deficiency. LeClair found a positive relation between an individual's experienced need deficiency and participation in adult education.

It should be pointed out here that LeClair does not observe the division in deficiency needs or growth needs as Maslow does. It can be assumed that for the person who experiences deficiency needs, balance and harmony are attained by need satisfaction. Satisfaction of growth needs, however, will quite probably increase the motivation to become involved in similar activities. It thereby follows that growth needs can never be satisfied once and for all time, since the goal for self-actualization is continually changing. A similar way of thinking can be found in Kuhlen (1970), who differentiates between "growth-expansion" motives and "threat-anxiety" motives. The former are assumed to dominate during the first part of the individual's life, while the latter become more important during the last half.

Our purpose in presenting these models is that they can help to explain why certain persons participate in adult education continually while for others adult education is a one-time-only occurrance.

4.3 Studies concerning stated motives for participation in adult education

Motives to participate in some form of adult education are many and varied. According to Burgess (1971), research in this field

has used at least 4 different approaches:

1. analyzing the kinds of activities in which the adult student participates so that reasons can be inferred for those activities,
2. asking the student to state in his own words why he participates in a given activity,
3. asking him to check from a list of reasons why he participates in a given activity,
4. concentrating on the adult's orientation toward education.

(Burgess, 1970, p. 4)

The approach one chooses depends, of course, upon the purpose of the investigation. If only the quantitive aspect is to be illuminated, e.g., which courses attract the largest number of students, method 1 is to be preferred, although use of this method means that the reasons behind the individual's choice of the course indicated will not come to light. The motive for participation does not necessarily need to be the course in itself (see Houle, 1961). Method 2 suffers technically from difficulties in measurement. It is impossible to estimate the relative importance of individual answers, making comparisons invalid. It is also quite difficult to control the reliability of the answers, as well as to bring to light unconscious motives. Method 3 is best suited for surveys of the motives to participate in a particular course. In order to survey motives to participate in general method 4 is the most suitable. However, both methods 3 and 4 are sensitive to the effects of social suggestion.

The quality of results obtained by using methods b, c and d are dependent upon the individual's ability to analyze and report upon his motives. In addition, attention must be given to the point in time at which the investigation is done, as changes in motives can take place during the educational process.

In accordance with the problem area of the current investigation (see Chapter 1), only investigations which have used method d will be referred to in this chapter.

Houle (1961) intensively studied 22 adult students. He found three groups with respect to motives ("learning orientations"):

1. goal-oriented
2. activity-oriented
3. learning-oriented

These groups are not entirely separate, but could best be described by 3 circles which partially overlap. The goal-oriented use education as preparation for something else. Houle states that this kind of participation takes place when the individual feels a pressing need or identifies an interest. The activity-oriented participate for the most part because they seek to satisfy a need for social contact. They often turn to the type of courses which offer possibilities for this. The learning-oriented seek knowledge for its own sake, and for them education seems to be a constant phenomenon instead of a repetitive one. They are often members of groups and organizations, the purposes of which are education, and are selective with respect to programs on the radio or television.

Using Houle's categories, Sheffield (1962) worked out a list of 58 possible motives to participate in different educational activities, where each one of Houles three "learning orientations" was represented by 16 motives. The remaining 10 motives were difficult to assign to any of the three groups. Adult students at Extension Programs in eight universities in the USA were given the opportunity to report to which degree each motive had influenced them to participate. Sheffield found 5 clusters of motives, "orientations":

1. learning orientation
2. desire-activity orientation
3. personal-goal orientation
4. societal-goal orientation
5. need-activity orientation

One of the difficulties with Sheffield's and Houle's categories is to clearly place a participant with several motivations, when none clearly outweighs any of the others. Sheffield did not in-

vestigate the relation between his clusters, and it is therefore not possible for us to determine to what degree they are dependent upon each other. Those individuals who formed the sample for the investigation were also not representative for all categories of adult students. Sheffield's study shows that the reasons for participation are many, and more complex than what was proposed by Houle.

The complexity of the situation is underlined by the results of Boshier (1971) and Burgess (1971). Boshier has attempted to develop Houle's "learning orientations", and study their importance in New Zealand. Another purpose of the study was to develop an instrument to measure motives to participate in adult education. The investigation group, composed of adult students at various levels, were asked to indicate to what degree each of 48 possible motives had influenced their participation. A factor-analysis gave 14 primary factors, 6 social factors, 2 related to the occupational situation and 5 associated with learning and education. The remaining factor was specific.

Boshier's 14 "motivational orientations" are as follows:

1. social welfare
2. social contact
3. other-directed professional advancement
4. intellectual recreation (stimulus seeking)
5. inner-directed professional advancement
6. social conformity
7. educational preparedness
8. cognitive interest ("learning")
9. educational compensation
10. social sharing
11. television abhorrence
12. "social" improvement/escape
13. interpersonal facilitation
14. educational supplementation

Boshier's first factor is, by comparison, related to Sheffield's

"societal-goal (orientation.)". Factor 2 seems to lie close to Houle's activity-orientation and Sheffield's social motives. In factors 3 and 5 Houle's goal-orientated participants can be identified, as well as Sheffield's motive to reach personal goals. Cognitive interest, factor 8, gives a certain amount of support for Houle's theory concerning the learning-oriented participants. Factors 4 and 8 are related motives, although intellectual recreation, factor 4, would indicate an individual more motivated by "deficiency needs", while individuals scoring high on factor 8, cognitive interest, are more influenced by "growth-oriented" motives. Factor 7 is clearly goal-oriented.

Boshier intercorrelated the 14 factors to study any apparent interrelationships. Processing of the material led to 7 factors of the second order:

1. interpersonal improvement/escape
2. inner versus other-directed advancement
3. social sharing
4. artifact
5. self-centredness versus altruism
6. professional future orientedness
7. cognitive interest

Factor 1 seems to describe participants who remove themselves from dull or boring situations and who hope to improve their personal relationships by participating in adult education. Those who are goal-oriented within an occupation can be found in factor 2. In factor 4 we recognize those who have been influenced by their surroundings to participate. Boshier emphasizes that these individuals were interested in completing or improving their previous education even before their participation in adult education. Factor 7 comes close to describing those individuals in Houle's investigation who stood out as being learning-oriented.

In this way, Boshier was able to show that his 14 factors of the first order were not independent of one another. When it became clear that even the second order factors were interrelated, factors

of the third order were calculated, resulting in 4 independent and uncorrelated factors:

1. other-directed advancement
2. learning orientation
3. self- versus other-centredness
4. social contact

The 4 independent factors of the third order, arrived at by breaking down the 14 "motivational orientations" of the first order, resemble in many ways the structures of Houle's three "learning orientations". The first and second factors of the third order are both related to the occupational role, while factors 3 and 4 are more closely tied to social-psychological concepts.

Burgess (1971) used a method and investigation group similar to those used by Boshier. He produced in this way 15 factors, fo which he could interpret 7:

1. the desire to know
2. the desire to reach a personal goal
3. the desire to reach a social goal
4. the desire to reach a religious goal
5. the desire to take part in social activity
6. the desire to escape socially
7. the desire to meet formal requirements

Burgess' results are generally in agreement with those found by Houle, Sheffield and Boshier. Factors 6 and 7 are not, however, revealed in Houle's or Sheffield's studies. Interestingly enough, they are to be found in Boshier's results. That escape from something can be a motive for participation in adult education has received relatively little attention. As part of the more recent research concerning motivation, however, a distinction is made between motives which imply approach or avoidance of goals, (see Atkinson, et al 1966).

Both Boshier's and Burgess'studies lend credence to the idea that the motives for participation in adult education are many and quite different from one another.

Chapter 5

Study obstacles in adult education

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the less well educated in Sweden participate in adult education to an extent less than was estimated by Government authorities. It is therefore natural to ask what obstacles exist for those who wish to but do not participate. We shall in this chapter present results from some previous investigations which illuminate this question.

In LOVUX II (1971) obstacles to participation are discussed using results obtained in the study entitled, "LO-medlemmen och utbildningsfrågorna". Three different types of obstacles are mentioned:

1. obstacles posed by the individual which form a part of the individual's own attitudes and life situation,
2. obstacles related to that which is offered, and
3. obstacles in the societal environment.

Obstacles posed by the individual can be lack of knowledge concerning courses or financing, lack of self-confidence, lack of time, etc. Obstacles related to that which is being offered can be lack of courses relevant for the individual in question, unsuitable courses or courses with unsuitable goals and a lack of adaptation to the adult's special study situation. Obstacles related to the societal environment can be lack of stimulance in the surroundings, economical difficulties, child care, transportation difficulties, unsuitable working hours and so forth. The LOVUX discussion seems based upon the supposition that most individuals who do not participate in adult education are, in spite of everything, strongly motivated to do so. Obstacles such as lack of interest for education, desire to use leisure time for something else, etc. are not taken up in this discussion.

FÖVUX (SOU 1972:19) found by using a questionnaire that of those asked nearly half responded that lack of time was the main obstacle to participation. Many of the older respondents offered the explanation that they "were too old". FÖVUX also presents the impressions of the course organizers concerning the reasons given verbally for not participating. ackording to this the most common reason offered to explain non-participation was that those asked considered themselves to be too old. Other reasons for non-participation were fatigue, lack of time, transportation difficulties and that studies were not useful. The course organizers also state that they felt that behind the arguments presented lay an insecurity and fear concerning study-abilities. The results of FÖVUX should be interpreted with a certain amount of caution since the investigation group was not representative and data concerning study obstacles was collected for a limited number of individuals (n=141).

Rubenson (1972) found that the most outstanding obstacle for young, less well educated men was of an economic nature. "Do not enjoy studying" and "already have sufficient education" were the next most popular responses. Even in this study insecurity was noted concerning the respondents' abilities to be successful in studies. Rubenson proposes that the attitude toward adult education is influenced by inner and outer factors, both having approximately the same degree of influence. He also compared obstacles for those who were totally uninterested in participating with those who could only think of participating under the condition that it occurred during paid working time. Obstacles named by this last group were chiefly economical, as well as that they had received too little information. The first group to a large extent offered lack of interest and that they already had sufficient education as a reason for their unwillingness to participate. A weakness of the Rubenson data is that non-response to this question was 19%.

"Lack of time and energy" as well as economic reasons were the strongest reasons given for not beginning planned studies (Borgström et al 1970).

Among foreign investigations which attempted to map out obstacles to participation in adult education the studies of Johnstone & Rivera (1965) and London (1970) are noteworthy. In the first named study it was found that those who were interested in participating in education did not differ from the total investigation group with respect to obstacles in their environment. The most important environmental obstacles were of economic nature as well as lack of time. There were, however, clear differences with respect to psychological obstacles. The attitude that they were too old and that they were not amused by studies were the most important.

London (1970) obtained similar results. The most important reason for not participating was "occupied with other things". In addition fatigue and lack of time were important obstacles. Economic reasons were also found to be of importance, as well as the feeling of being too old. This last obstacle was experienced much more frequently by older men with blue-collar occupations (49%) than men of a comparable age in white-collar occupations (25%).

Darinsky (1971) discusses certain recruitment problems experienced in adult education in the USSR, in the light of a reduction in registered students. The most important reasons given for non-participation were difficulties in combining studies with work, as well as poor experiences connected with previous compulsory education. In addition, those asked commented that their plans for the future were not related to adult education.

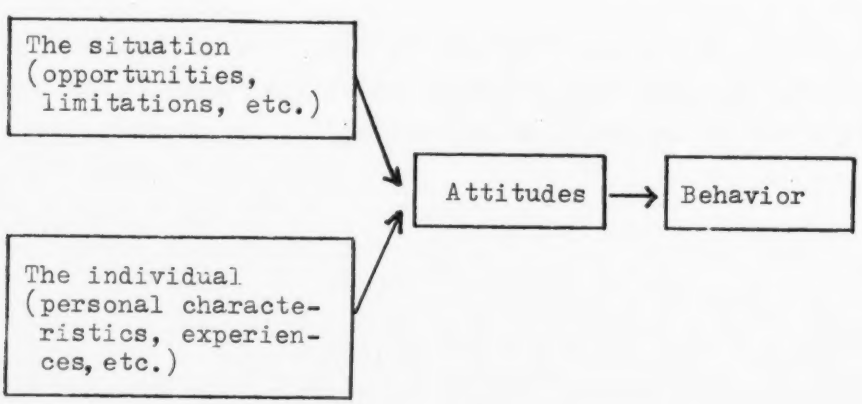
There exist a few limitations in those investigations which have been referred to so far, among other things with respect to instruments. The choice of obstacles to which the respondents have been allowed to express an opinion has not been based upon a thorough review of the entire obstacle syndrome. What is lacking is an approach similar to that used in the construction of motivation scales (see Chapter 4). Also, the degree to which each obstacle is experienced has not been given sufficient attention. In addition there seems to be little discussion about to what extent rationalizations are present in individual responses.

Obstacles experienced by the individual must be seen against the individual's total situation, in a way similar to surveys of motives to participate in adult education.

From research done in this area we will differentiate environmental from psychological obstacles. With the former we mean factors included in the home and working environment as well as courses available in adult education, for example. Psychological obstacles, often called "inner obstacles", are seen to be connected with the individual's self-confidence, level of ambition and attitudes towards adult education.

Environmental and psychological obstacles should not, of course, be assumed to be independent of one another. An individual's experience of obstacles in the environment is many times dependent upon his attitude towards education. It is for this reason important that we try to hold attitude toward education under control while analyzing experience of obstacles.

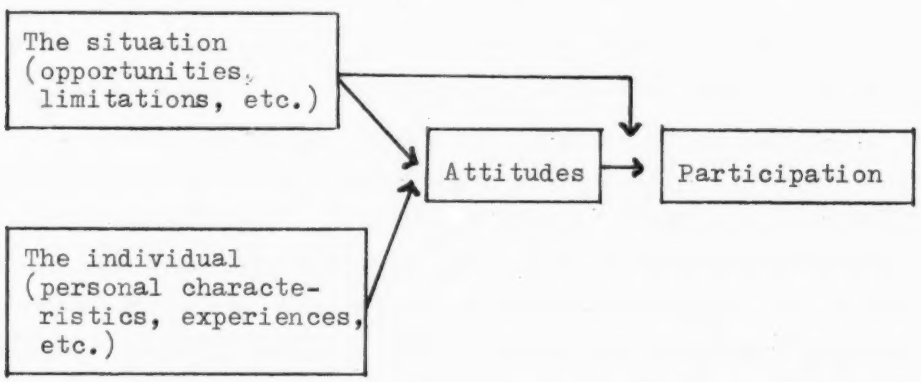
Seaman (1968) and Knox (1970) related participation in adult education to the individual's attitudes to adult education. Both authors found, to their surprise, that attitudes to education were not related to participation. We feel that a possible explanation for their results could lie in weaknesses in the instruments used. It is also possible that an individual's attitudes do not influence behavior in the same way as the authors presumed. Knox does not discuss this problem. Seaman, however, presents the following model:



(Seaman 1969, p. 46)

The model is a combination of Rosenberg's (1960) and Newcomb's (1965) theories concerning attitudes and their influence upon behavior. According to this model, attitudes influence behavior directly, and the author uses Rosenberg as a support for this supposition. The idea that the situation has influence upon attitudes is put forth by Newcomb.

According to Seaman's model it appears that behavior (in this case participation in adult education) ought to be exclusively dependent upon the individual's attitude. The model does not permit us to take into account obstacles that might be found in the environment. We feel that this could be a possible explanation of the results arrived at by both Seaman and Knox. It seems feasible to speculate that many of those positive to education could not participate because of various "outer" obstacles. Analogous with this, we should like to see the relationship between the environment, individual and attitudes in the way shown in the following model:



Our model is, of course, like all models, a simplification of reality. In the meantime, however, we believe that it can form the basis for an analysis of obstacles.

Chapter 6

Specifying the problems

In the introduction it was mentioned that participation of the less well educated in adult education does not occur to the desired extent in consideration of our rapidly changing society and the resulting demands upon the individual. In light of the fact that adult education can be expected to become more important in the near future, this situation is regrettable, and measures ought to be considered which will reduce any resulting tension, both between and within generations. To arrange and offer education in the traditional way is apparently not sufficient, and according to our viewpoint the problem must be dealt with in another way. Once the affected categories have been established, an attempt must be made to obtain a clear picture of their total life-situation, including different roles and how these are interpreted. Only thereafter is it possible to make meaningful statements concerning how our educational society is experienced and which eventual changes must be made. It is for this reason that the area of motivation plays such an important role in the current study.

Our review of the literature has shown that motives for studies during adulthood can be numerous. They are often intimately connected to school-background and the different roles the adult plays, the family role, the occupational role, the leisuretime role, etc. The attitude to different kinds of studies also changes with increasing age. However, in spite of an existing need for studies, there can exist obstacles to these studies which prevent their expression. These obstacles can partly lie in the environment and partly be of a psychological nature. Certain of these obstacles are probably connected with a lack of insight concerning what studies mean for the individual as well as lack of knowledge of what possibilities are offered in today's society. It is also possible that the desired educational programs are not available.

Using our review of the literature as a base, we shall now detail our previously stated, rather general aim: "investigate study needs and study obstacles for less well educated adults".

The purpose of this investigation is by using the individual's total life-situation and previous experience as a base, study the less well educated individual's:

- need of adult education
- awareness of adult education
- motives to participate in adult education
- experienced obstacles preventing participation in adult education
- plans to participate in adult education
- previous experience of adult education.

In connection with this it is important to take into consideration the individual's position in the life-cycle.

If answers can be found for the stated problems in such a way that we gain knowledge of how study needs and study obstacles are related to the individual's different roles and previous experience, it ought to be possible to spread information and take measures to insure that the intentions of society's investment in adult education are realized.

Chapter 7

Data collection

According to our stated aims (Chapter 6) we shall attempt to map out the individual's total life-situation in consideration of the roles he plays and can be expected to play. From the larger quantity of data which in different ways can illuminate our chosen problem areas, a selection had been made. This chapter will be concerned with the principles which have led to this selection.

Among those roles which are related to attitudes to education, the most interesting for our purposes are the family role, the occupational role and the leisure-time role. These roles should, naturally, not be seen isolated, but rather as parts of the individual's total situation. The individual's position in the life-cycle will have great importance in determining how these different roles are experienced and played. We have for this reason, like Friedmann (1970), chosen to view the different areas in three time dimensions: the past, the present and the future. How the present is experienced must, of course, be seen against the background of previous experiences. The individual's hopes and desires concerning the future are steered by previous experiences and by how the present situation is experienced. It is for this reason, and in accordance with our model (p.41), that we are not going to group background factors separately, but within each area shed light on the three time dimensions.

In connection with our appraisal of which information is necessary and relevant to illuminate the individual's situation, we have also taken into account methodological problems. Recall-effects which can make answers unreliable have thus been taken into consideration. Areas which can be of great interest but which can be thought to be experienced as sensitive or too personal have been avoided as much as possible since questions in these areas would undoubtedly influence the individual's attitude to

the whole data collection, and thus affect the reliability of answers. As an example for this we have avoided going all too deeply into personal adjustment and life-satisfaction. In the presentation of investigation variables which follows below we have chosen to group them with respect to the earlier named roles. In addition, some variables are related to all these roles and these will be given under the title, "Information related to all roles".

7.1 Information related to the family role

Information we feel to be important to illuminate the family role concern the previous and present home environment, childhood environment, parents' occupations as well as attitudes to education. In this connection, we feel that other factors which ought to be set in relation to the individual's attitude to adult education are spouse's educational background and occupation, as well as children's educational level.

7.2 Information related to the occupational role

With respect to the occupational role we have made a distinction between the employed and those who work at home.

As concerns the employed, we intend to obtain data on occupation and job-satisfaction. Both these factors have in previous investigations been shown to be related to participation in adult education. In addition, we shall collect data on the number of jobs and employers the individual has had during the past five years in order to get an estimation of what we call "work stability". Information concerning whether the individual has been laid-off in the last five years is considered to be worthwhile in this connection.

Using LeClair's method (1969) as a base to shed light on the need-aspect in the occupational role, we shall attempt to map out how the individual experiences his job within certain areas, such as influence over working conditions, job-security, variations in job routines and opportunities for advancement. It is here important to take into account what the individual himself

feels are important requirements for occupational advancement, since these ideas will probably influence his attitude to adult education.

"Job-satisfaction" is an important factor when mapping out the attitudes to adult education of those working at home. Interest in joining the labor market will also be studied. An important aspect in connection with this is to regard the strength of any interest to take part in some form of education motivated by a desire to increase the possibilities of obtaining work outside the home.

7.3 Information related to the leisure-time role

As a step in our desire to see the individual's total life-situation, we also intend to look at the individual's leisure-time. Self-actualization may take place in areas other than the aforementioned roles, and dominating needs can be satisfied even within the scope of the leisure-time role.

Earlier studies of adult leisure-time habits (Nielsen 1958, Kleemeier 1961), imply that the choice of leisure-time activity is highly related to experienced needs and their satisfaction. For this reason we shall map out the individual's leisure-time activities. The leisure-time role, in similarity to the occupational role, will be viewed from the aspect of satisfaction. We shall in this connection give our attention to which degree leisure-time gives relaxation, variety, stimulance and possibilities to gain new experiences.

7.4 Information related to all roles

In the majority of studies concerned with participation in adult education, the factor showing the strongest relationship to participation is the individual's educational background. We shall for this reason attempt to map out the individual's formal, as well as actual education. In connection with this it seems natural to attempt to shed light on the individual's earlier feelings about and experiences from schooling, as well as satisfaction and performance at the obligatory school. We also plan to map out if, and to which degree, the individual has previously

taken part, or is currently taking part in some form of education apart from formal schooling, as well as their opinions concerning these studies. In connection with this it is of great interest to obtain information concerning how the individual became aware of the educational program in question. According to some earlier studies (Mezirow et al 1970, SOU 1972:19) it seems as if the less well educated are recruited and informed better through certain channels than others.

We shall attempt to find out in which situations the individual feels that he has insufficient knowledge and if he should like to learn more in these areas. Is the individual interested in participating in some form of adult education? If so, in which subject area, which form of education, and when had he considered beginning? In connection with this we shall attempt to estimate the degree of preparation for action. If the person expresses an interest in participation but has not or is not yet doing so, he can answer to what extent a number of possible obstacles has prevented his participation. In the same way those who are interested in participating, and those who have or are currently participating can indicate which motives influenced their interest.

As can be seen from our choice of variables, we have not confined ourselves to static background variables, but have purposefully chosen to illuminate such dynamic factors which can be expected to increase our understanding of attitudes to adult education. We feel that a similar procedure must form the background of our consideration of study-needs and study-obstacles as experienced by the less well educated.

Chapter 8

Methods for data-collection

In order to collect the necessary data there are primarily three ways open to us:

telephone interviews
personal interviews
mailed questionnaires

In this chapter we shall take up the advantages and disadvantages of the different methods, and by using this as a base discuss some points of view concerning the different methods.

8.1 Choice of method

In choosing between the three methods, the telephone interview was discarded at an early stage. According to Kerlinger (1969) this method lends itself to the asking of simple, superficial questions. For our purposes an additional practical reason made itself felt. It was judged unrealistic to attempt to carry out a telephone interview which would last for at least one hour. In reality our choice was limited between personal interviews and mailed questionnaires.

Advantages and disadvantages for these two methods include the following:

The respondent during the answering situation.

Many people are unaccustomed to reading and answering in writing questions of the type we plan to use. In this respect, the mailed questionnaire lends itself poorly particularly for the less well educated. Of course, this group may also be unaccustomed to answering questions posed by an interviewer. An interviewer, however, has the possibility to give the respondent support and create an atmosphere conducive to cooperation by explaining the purpose of the questions and why the individual in question has been selected. The mailed questionnaire includes the advantage that the individual is given more time to think through his answers. He can even answer questions in the order he finds

most suitable, sometimes an advantage although most often it is desired that the questions be answered in the order presented, something which cannot be controlled when using a mailed questionnaire. When using the personal interview it is also possible to see to it that the selected individual is the one who answers the questions, as well as controlling that the answering process is carried out in a responsible way. However, there is also a risk that the interviewer influences the answers of the respondent. Factors which can be thought to be of importance in this respect are the interviewer's age, sex and personality (see among others, Hyman 1954). The fact that the use of interviewers can lead to large errors during data-collection if the interviewers have not been selected and trained in a satisfactory manner, and if their work has not been controlled, has been pointed out by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The relationship between sampling error and measurement error for the 1950 census was 1:30.

Standardization v.s. flexibility.

Use of a questionnaire insures that the stimuli are offered, at least superficially, in the same way, but it can be asked if the stimuli are construed by all individuals in the same way. The problem here is one of "constant stimulus". During an interview it is possible to take into account the respondent's personality, experiences and knowledge and thereby create the desired frame of reference. In the meanwhile it can be argued that homogeneous groups provide opportunities to make use of the standardization inherent in questionnaires. One strength of the interview is its flexibility which makes it possible to follow up an answer and correct any misunderstandings.

Inclination to answer.

Interviews normally provide a higher percent of response. Because of this, Kerlinger (1969) feels that questionnaires should not be used if possibilities exist to use other methods.

That it is difficult to illuminate interest for adult education

through the use of mailed questionnaires has been apparent in a number of investigations, including some carried out in Sweden. Fall, 1969 an investigation was carried out by the Swedish Community Employees Organization, Local 25 in Mariestad in cooperation with ABF in Skaraborg, using a questionnaire mailed to members of the above-named Local. Response rate to this questionnaire was 11 %. The response rate by the control group in the FÖVUX investigation was so low that it was deemed meaningless to process the data collected for this group. It should be pointed out that respondent were offered the sum of 10 Sw.crowns (appr. $2) for an answered and returned questionnaire (SOU 1972:19, p. 59). Non-response can become expecially large with an increase in the length of the questionnaire (see Larsson 1970). In some cases questionnaires have resulted in 70 % response rates, although non-response to individual questions has also sometimes been considerable (see LO-medlemmen och utbildningsfrågorna, 1968).

Cost and time.

A mailed questinnaire is not as costly as a personal interview. Another advantage of the questionnaire is that a larger proportion of the investigation group can be reached at the same time, although actual collection of the data can be time-consuming since many respondents require several reminders before returning the questionnaire. Many reminders may be necessary before data-collection can be assumed to be completed. By using a large number of interviewers data-collection may be completed relatively quickly.

Reliability and validity.

Reliability and validity are difficult to measure for both interviews and questionnaires. One technique which is sometimes used entails measuring the same factor or element with a number of questions. When this technique is sensed by the respondent it is doubtful that the desired goal is reached. By using a questionnaire one possible source of error, the interviewer, is eliminated. Arguments have been forwarded that the interviewer's flexibility provides opportunities for greater validity. Others argue that it is just this factor which reduces relia-

bility, and thereby validity (see Galtung 1970). Against the background of research done in this area we feel that it is impossible to assert that one method is better than the other with respect to reliability or validity. However, one important factor to consider when judging the value of the collected material is the percent of response.

When committing ourselves to either personal interviews or mailed questionnaires, it was primarily the following factors which were deciding in our choice of the personal interview:

response percent
completeness of answers
the investigation group.

8.2 Type of interview

An interview can be more, or less structured. We shall for this reason discuss the pros and cons of structured and open interviews.

For our purposes the following four types of interviews were possible to choose from:

open question - open answer
structured question - open answer
structured question - structured answer
structured question - open and structured answers.

The first of these types is used primarily in so-called clinical interviews, and is not suitable for our purposes since it does not result in comparable data. The type "structured question - open answer" is also less suitable since attempts to categorize answers usually lead to less than satisfactory results. This technique is even less suitable for use with the less well educated (Clausen 1950). In addition, it has been suggested that interviewer-effect becomes a more important factor when using open as opposed to structured answers (Sellitz et al 1965).

One advantage of this method is that collected material can be used to form new ideas concerning the problem area, as well as providing knowledge as to how structured questions should be formed. In addition, this method is relatively insensitive to suggestion-effects (Clausen 1950).

Interviews of the type "structured question - structured answer" eliminate difficulties of categorization as well as limiting interviewer-effect. One disadvantage, however, is that the risk for suggestion-effects is larger for this method than others since the respondent may sometimes be tempted to choose socially acceptable alternatives.

For the preliminary investigation we have chosen the fourth type of interview, "structured question - open and structured answer". In those cases where there exists a basis for the formulation of structured questions and answers we shall use the form, "structured question - structured answer". For the remaining questions we shall use the form "structured question - open answer", and use the material collected in this way to formulate structured questions and answers to be used in the main investigation. The type of interview we have chosen can be administered in the following ways:

1. The respondent receives a questionnaire which he completes in the presence, and if necessary with the help of the interviewer.
2. The interviewer retains the only copy of the questionnaire and reads the questions and alternative answers aloud for the respondent. The respondent answers verbally, and does not directly take part in completing the questionnaire.
3. A combination of 1 and 2. The interviewer reads the questions aloud and notes the respondent's answers. In those cases where structured answers exist the respondent is given a number of answer-cards and is asked to choose between the alternatives found on the cards.

We have chosen the procedure outlined in 3 because:

1. The respondents are less well educated. Interview time should be more effectively used if the interviewer asks the questions verbally and if the risk for misunderstandings is reduced. The interviewer can in this case explain and clarify when necessary.
2. If the different structered alternatives are only read aloud, and not shown to the respondent visually, there exists a risk that the last alternative can be over-represented owing to the effects of memory (see Sellitz et al 1965).
3. A certain amount of interviewer bias ought to be avoided if the respondent is allowed to choose alternatives himself, whenever this is possible. Otherwise there is a risk that the interviewer in these cases decides which alternative comes closest to the respondent's answer. In addition, it can be expected that this method will lead to the respondent's increased participation in the interview.

Chapter 9

Construction of instruments

In Chapter 7 we discussed the data we feel is necessary in order to shed light upon the problem-areas we plan to investigate. Using the discussion in Chapter 8, a questionnaire was developed to bring light on the various roles, composed of 100 main items. During various seminars with specially invited experts these questions were discussed and modified.

In the first version there were no questions concerning obstacles and motives. We felt that in order to map out these it would be necessary to develop special instruments. Using Boshier's technique as a base (see Chapter 4.3) a questionnaire was constructed including approximately 50 possible motives to participate in adult education. This questionnaire was tested at Gävle's adult secondary school and at the ABF school in Gävle (n=153). The respondents were asked to fill out the motive questionnaire during class time. Personnel from the project administered the testing procedure. When the collected material was factor-analyzed, 12 factors were found which could explain 69% of the variance. Against the background of the factors we obtained, 16 possible motives were selected to be included in the questionnaire to be used in the preliminary investigation.

The obstacle questionnaire was constructed in a similar way, at first being composed of 40 possible reasons for not participating in adult education. Testing occurred in cooperation with ABF in Arboga, which had previously undertaken a program of active recruitment in order to attract less well educated individuals to adult studies. Among those contacted there was an identifiable group which did not wish to participate. A number of these individuals were invited by ABF to complete the obstacle questionnaire, for which they were offered the sum of 15 Sw. crowns (appr $ 3). 65 completed questionnaires were obtained in this way. Factor analysis of the material yielded 13 factors, which explained 80% of the variance. From these results 22 possible reasons for not

participating in adult education were selected to appear in the instrument to be used in the preliminary investigation.

Using the experiences gained in this way, a trial questionnaire was constructed which was tested by two interviewers who would be taking part in the preliminary investigation. Interviewees were 15 persons drawn from the same population used for the preliminary investigation. These interviews were recorded on tape and then analyzed, following which the questionnaire was modified and completed.

The final version used in the preliminary investigation was composed of 60 main items. In order to facilitate the interview all answer cards were placed in a binder which the interviewer could manipulate during the course of the interview.

Interview time was calculated to be approximately one hour.

Chapter 10

Plan for the preliminary investigation

There exists only a limited amount of accumulated experience concerning the collection of data which shed light on our problem-areas. For this reason we felt it necessary to carry out a preliminary investigation, which had the following aims:

to test underlying theories

to test instruments

to test data-collection methods

to test the abilities of SCB's interviewers

to collect material which could be used to test methods of analysis.

The preliminary investigation took place during Fall, 1972 in three different communities located in Westmanland County; Västerås, Hallstahammar och Sala.

The choice of Westmanland County was motived by practical reasons, since in this county we could test the instrument on different occupational categories and in different environments. We used population density and the distribution of employees in various industries as criteria in selection of the sample.

10.1 The investigation group

The investigation numbered approximately 600 individuals distributed among the communities in the following way:

Age	Västerås		Hallstahammar		Sala		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
24 years	33	33	33	33	33	33	
38 years	33	33	33	33	33	33	
52 years	33	33	33	33	33	33	n = 594

The following criteria were used in selection of the sample:

1. born 1920, 1934 or 1948
2. employed in an occupation which required less than 1 year theoretical education beyond obligatory school
3. were Swedish citizens.

The sampling was carried out by first, from county lists containing all residents within the three communities, obtaining a list of all persons born during 1920, 1934 or 1948, who were Swedish citizens. The next step was to sort out those who could not be considered to be less well educated. Unfortunately there existed no register with complete information concerning education for these individuals. We chose, therefore, to use occupation as an indicator of educational level, well aware of all the pitfalls involved. From those who filled the above-named three criteria, an independent random sample was drawn to include 33 individuals for each age- and sex-category.

Since this project has only limited possibilities to shed light on the study situation for immigrants, we chose to eliminate them from the study instead of only investigating surface factors.

Our choice of three age groups was motivated by consideration of the possibilities of analysis. By concentrating on only three age groups we could then increase the number of individuals in each cell. The ages 24, 38 and 52 were chosen because they are connected with interesting stages in the life-cycle (see Chapter 4).

10.2 Data-collection

Information concerning the labor market has been obtained from the county Labor Office in Västerås. In addition, we have mapped out the adult educational opportunities available in each of the three communities.

Trained interviewers were selected from SCB's Interviewer Unit, who were then specially trained in two stages. At the end of August,

1972 the interviewers were given the instrument, instructions and training exercises. These exercises were solved by the interviewers, who sent them to the project. After correction with comments the material was returned to the interviewers. The second stage was carried out during a one-day training period in Västerås.

In order to gain the support of the investigation group, contact was taken with the local press and radio stations. This resulted in an article being published concerning the investigation in the newspaper "Vestmanlands Läns Tidning" on the 15th of Sept., 1972. In addition, during a local radio news broadcast of the 14th of September, the investigation was also mentioned. A letter of introduction was sent to all members of the investigation group on the same day. During the period Sept. 18 - Nov. 21, 1972, personal interviews were carried out by 22 of the trained interviewers mentioned above.

The material is currently being coded for data-processing. At the same time a questionnaire has been sent out to the interviewers, asking them to comment on any difficulties with the questionnaire or the interview situation, as well as suggest improvements. We also plan to meet with the interviewers in the near future to discuss their individual points of view in a group.

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